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ABSTRACT

All 3 studies are segments of a larger study carried out in a small Northeastern industrial city of 12,000 population, of which 25% is black. In the first study, which explored the interpersonal and interracial attitudes of black and white youth and teachers, the concept of social distance was employed. Four components were selected for their relevance as important personal characteristics of influence sources: race, ability to understand others, competency, and trustworthiness. Each component was found to contribute significantly to social distance. The other 2 studies focus specifically on high school guidance services. Black and white students' and parents' attitudes and perceptions of these services are presented. In general, while vocational guidance was not found to be blatantly racist in this small city, to many blacks, and some whites, it was not viewed as meeting their needs. For the blacks, it was perceived as racist. The authors feel that the concept "guidance as a service to all" was not operational in this community. (TL)

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RACE AS A COMPONENT OF SOCIAL DISTANCE AMONG BLACK AND WHITE SECONDARY STUDENTS AND THEIR TEACHERS[1]

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Among the most pressing concerns confronting our society are the schisms between the various subcultures, especially blacks and whites. Racial preferences are acquired early (Asher & Allen, 1969) and persevere. However, there is currently a surgence of pride in being black, particularly among adolescents (Banks, 1970). During this period of social change it seems appropriate to explore interpersonal and interracial attitudes among black and white youth.

The concept of social distance offers a framework for approaching this problem. Bogardus (1933) suggests that there are varying degrees of interpersonal intimacy on which a person may accept another. In addition social distance reflects the multitudinous interactions between accepting another and personal characteristics of the other (Triandis & Triandis, 1960). These personal characteristics, when employed as criteria for interpersonal attraction, are considered components of social distance--the willingness to associate with another person or group.

In the present study four characteristics were employed as components of social distance. They were race, ability to understand others, competency, and trustworthiness. These four components of social distance were expressly selected for their relevance as important personal characteristics of influence sources. (Simons, Berkowitz, and Moyer, 1970; Strong, 1968) Influences on attitudes and behavior are a function of the message itself, the nature of the audience, and the characteristics of the source (Zimbardo & Ebbesen, 1969). Within this theoretical framework it is assumed that as social distance lessens or interpersonal attraction increases the degree of interpersonal influence over attitudes and behavior increases (Kiesler & Kiesler, 1969). It was felt that employing these personal attributes as components of social distance might shed some light on the question: What sorts of persons are most likely to be received as influence sources by black and white youths?

On the basis of previous research (Shim & Dole, 1967; Triandis & Triandis, 1960) it was predicted that all four components would significantly contribute to social distance but in varying amounts. Also of interest was the question: How do black and white youth and their teachers compare on the relative importance attributed to race, understanding others, competency, and trustworthiness as criteria for accepting others?

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METHOD

Setting

Costerville is a small Northeastern industrial city with a population of approximately 40,000. Its citizens are well established, predominantly working class, and approximately one-fourth black. In the past few years there have been a number of incidents reflecting increased militance on the part of the younger black group. The public schools are modern and integrated. Costerville is particularly appropriate for a study of interpersonal attitudes because it is typical in many respects of small American cities during a period of rapid social change.

Subjects

The subjects were graduating seniors and teachers in Costerville's public secondary school. The data were collected in the late Spring of 1970. School personnel administered the research instrument through social studies classes. To encourage frankness names were not required. Race was determined by self-report. After auditing the protocols for completeness and cooperation the final samples included 48 black seniors and 208 white seniors. In addition 52 teachers, 51 of who were white, completed the instrument.

Instrument

A social distance technique originated by Bogardus (1933), expanded upon by Westie (1953) and Triandis and Triandis (1960), and more recently modified by Shim and Dole (1967), was adapted for this research. Each of two dimensions of the four components was randomly combined, yielding 16 hypothetical stimulus persons representing all possible permutations. The four two-dimensional components and their descriptive terms were: (1) understanding--"understands others" (able to perceive clearly the nature of another person's behavior; knows how others feel) or "lacks understanding of others"; (2) competence--"highly competent" (qualified, trained, capable of fulfilling all requirements) or "barely competent"; (3) trustworthiness--"trustworthy" (can be depended upon; will keep a confidence, reliable, honest, sincere) or "sometimes untrustworthy"; (4) race--"white American" or "black American."

As a measure of subject cooperation and a control on race a 17th hypothetical stimulus person was introduced whose description combined the components of "understands others," "trustworthy," and "highly competent" with "citizen of Turnia." Thus, Turnia, a nonexistent country, replaced the racial term. (It should be noted that respondents were asked whether they were personally acquainted with any person like each stimulus person. On auditing, the few subjects who claimed to know someone from Turnia were discarded from the study.)

Subjects were asked to rate the 17 stimulus persons on each of nine social distance steps using a five point Likert scale. The successive social distance steps originated with Bogardus and were modified for the purpose of this study. For each stimulus person (see Table 1) respondents were asked: "Would you accept this person as a (1) member of your immediate family? (2) personal counselor on intimate problems? (3) close friend? (4) next door neighbor? (5) teacher in your neighborhood elementary school? (6) employee on same job with you? (7) speaking acquaintance? (8)

pupil in your family's school? (9) voter in your precinct?" For each of the nine social distance steps S's were instructed to "indicate your acceptance of each person in each situation as follows:- 5--absolutely accept; 4--probably accept; 3--not sure or cannot say; 2--probably not accept; and 1--absolutely not accept." A score of 45, then, represents highest acceptance, while 9 is the lowest possible acceptance score for each stimulus person.

Statistical Analyses

Means were computed on the degree of acceptance of all 17 of the stimulus persons and comparisons among the three samples were analyzed by t-tests (Hays, 1963). The stimulus person who was a "citizen of Turnia" was then dropped leaving 16 stimulus persons for the subsequent analyses. Each of the eight component scores was computed by averaging scores for the stimulus persons characterized by the dimension of the component, e.g.: eight stimulus persons were described as "trustworthy," eight as "sometimes untrustworthy," etc. T-tests for independent means were computed to compare the three groups on the component scores. Four-factor (2x2x2x2) analyses of variance were computed on the stimulus person scores within each sample in order to ascertain the proportion of variance contributed by each of the four components to the total social distance score (Triandis & Triandis, 1960).

RESULTS

Stimulus Persons

Table 1 contains the means of the three samples on social distance scores attributed to the 17 stimulus persons.

Place Table 1 about here.

For all three samples the three highest ranking stimulus persons--those most willingly accepted--were characterized by "understands others," "highly competent," and "trustworthy." The least desirable stimulus person for all three groups was described by the opposite dimension of these components. The white groups responded more favorably to "white American" than to "black American" and the black students preferred "black American." However, when race was controlled by attributing origin to Turnia (Stimulus person 3) there were no differences among the three samples. The three groups were in general agreement on the relative acceptance of the stimulus persons. Rank-order correlations were white students vs. black students (.94), white students vs. teachers (.99). and black students vs. teachers (.95).

Comparisons among the three groups on the stimulus persons are reported in Table 1. Asterisks in the three columns on the right represent significance levels of t-tests. For example, in their acceptance of stimulus person 1, white students were significantly (.01) higher than black students, teachers were significantly (.01) higher than black students, and the difference between teachers and white students was not significant.

Significant differences were noted between black and white students on 11 stimulus persons. In all eight cases where the stimulus person was described as "black American" the black students were significantly more accepting than the white students. When teachers and black students were compared, significant differences were found on nine stimulus persons. Teachers and white students differed significantly on four stimulus persons. In sum, while there was considerable agreement between white students and teachers, the acceptance patterns of black students were quite disparate from those of the white students and teachers.

Component Scores

Table 2 contains means of the three groups on eight component scores. Significance levels of t-tests used to test differences between groups are reported on the right.

Place Table 2 about here.

In comparison with the black students the white students were more accepting of "white American." Black students were more favorable toward "black American," "barely competent," "lacks understanding of others," and "sometimes untrustworthy." Teachers, in contrast to black students, demonstrated higher values on "trustworthy," "highly competent," and "white American," and lower acceptance of "black American." Teachers, when compared to white students, were more favorably disposed on "trustworthy," "understands others," "highly competent," "black American," and "lacks understanding of others."

Component Variance

As hypothesized, all four components were significant contributing sources to social distance. With one exception, for all three groups the proportion of social distance variance (Table 3) contributed by each of the four components yielded F-

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Place Table 3 about here.

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ratios significant beyond the .001 level. For teachers, the racial component was significant at the .02 level. Within each group the proportion of variance among the four components was distributed differently from the other two groups; no one component contributed more than a quarter of the variance across the three groups. However, for all three groups trustworthiness and understanding in combination contributed over half the variance. Race accounted for more variance among the black students (23%) than among white students (11%) or teachers (1%). Competence played a greater part in the acceptance of others by teachers (30%) than by white students (22%) or black students (17%). While a few interactions among components were statistically significant, in no instance did their total exceed 8 percent.

DISCUSSION

Stimulus Persons

Among these young people and their teachers hypothetical persons described as "highly competent," "understand others," and "trustworthy" were the most acceptable irregardless of race. This finding suggests that blatant racism, at least on an attitudinal level, is not a major characteristic of the interpersonal climate in this school. Also, the black American who is concerned about narrowing his social distance from white peers or teachers may find that variables other than his race will have importance. The finding that black students, in comparison with white students, were significantly more accepting of all eight "black American" stimulus persons may be an indication of emergent black identify and pride among these youth. Interestingly, however, this was not accompanied by a rejection of the eight "white American" stimulus persons; thus the black students demonstrated greater overall tolerance than did the white students.

Component Scores

With one exception inspection of the component scores revealed that in every significant difference between teachers and students, the teachers showed greater acceptance. It is encouraging that the teachers were higher on overall acceptance than their students. In our view this fits with the conception of the American public school as an agent for increasing tolerance in the culture (Shim and Dole, 1967). Black and white students found the positive dimensions of the components equally attractive but the white students were significantly less propitious toward the negative aspects. It may be that the black person, having been the target of racial abuse, has developed more of a "live and let live" attitude. On the racial component black and white students both showed clear preferences for members of their own race.

Component Variance

Each of the four components, while carrying different weights among the three groups, did contribute significantly to social distance. These results are consistent with the theory that the acceptance of another person is rarely based on a single criterion.

Trustworthiness, clearly the most important component among the white students and teachers was not so highly valued by the black students. This may be a statistical artifact of the relatively larger proportion of social distance variance accounted for by race among the black students. Also, trust may be more characteristic of white middle-class values.

All three groups placed a premium on understanding. This personal characteristic, long since identified as pivotal to meaningful interpersonal relationships, appears to be important to both blacks and whites. Needing to be understood is a human quality that apparently transcends race.

There was considerable diversification among the three groups on the importance

attributed to competence. The relatively low status attributed to competence by blacks may be a cultural artifact. Our field observations suggested that the black youngsters from working class families may not associate with many persons who are "qualified, trained, capable of fulfilling all requirements." As such they may have lower expectancies for competency levels and thus deem it less important as a criterion for accepting another. This speculation is in part validated by the greater acceptance by blacks of those who are "barely competent." Nor is it surprising that teachers, aware of their own needs to be competent and dedicated to "training" and "qualifying" people, would place a high value on competence.

It is on the matter of race that the three groups were most sharply divided. Black youths placed a greater emphasis on race in accepting others. However, among the blacks it was noted that trustworthiness and understanding were attributed slightly more importance than race, suggesting that these factors would effect acceptance between two black persons. White adolescents weighted race lower as an acceptance criterion. On the whole teachers were less concerned about race as a component of social distance. These findings suggest that race is a more powerful determinant of interpersonal attraction among blacks than among whites.

Implications

The main implication of this study is that interracial attitudes should not be considered unidimensional. Acceptance and interaction between persons of different races are not a function of race alone. Rather they are multiply determined. Differentiation among the components of social distance can lead to a greater understanding of interracial attitudes.

The finding that black and white students showed clear preferences for members of their own race has several implications. First, it suggests that human relations training (Carkhuff & Banks, 1970) may have a legitimate place in the schools. Second, friendship patterns among black and white students have important implications. Coleman et al. (1966) found that having close white friends and being in a classroom where "more than half" the students were white contributed to black students having higher achievement scores and college aspirations. A third implication can be drawn in terms of influence sources on attitudes and behavior change. It may be that black students are more open to influence from other blacks in areas of close interpersonal relationships, such as counseling (Strangers & Riccio, 1970).

Directions for further research are implied. Analyses similar to those in this study could be computed at the several points on the social distance continuum. Determinants of acceptance may vary considerably when thinking of a "close friend" as opposed to a "voter in your precinct." Furthermore, a social distance scale could be constructed with a social distance continuum limited to interpersonal relationships within the school.

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TABLE 1

Means and Comparisons of Social Distance Scores

Attributed to Stimulus Persons

Stimulus Persons	Subjects			Comparisons		
	White Students (N=208)	Black Students (N=48)	Teachers (N=52)	White Students vs Black Students	Black Students vs Teachers	Teachers vs White Students
1. Highly competent, understands others, white American, trustworthy.	41.07	34.85	42.87	**	**	--
2. Understands others, black American, Highly competent, trustworthy.	35.29	38.58	42.14	*	**	**
3. Understands others, trustworthy, highly competent, citizen of Turnia.	34.68	33.17	34.54	--	--	--
4. Trustworthy, white American, barely competent, understands others.	32.10	28.17	31.39	**	*	--
5. Lacks understanding of others, highly competent, trustworthy, white American.	31.10	27.38	32.39	**	**	--
6. Understands others, sometimes untrustworthy, highly competent, white American.	30.00	28.17	31.73	--	*	--
7. Barely competent, trustworthy, understands others, black American.	27.81	31.56	30.02	**	--	--
8. Black American, highly competent, sometimes untrustowrthy, understands others.	27.72	33.00	30.44	**	--	*
9. Barely competent, white American, lacks understanding of others, trustworthy.	27.18	24.90	27.67	--	--	--

TABLE 1 (con't)

Stimulus Persons	White Students (N=208)	Black Students (N=48)	Teachers (N=52)	White Students vs Black Students	Black Students vs Teachers	Teachers vs White Students
10. Highly competent, lacks understanding of others, trustworthy, black American.	26.75	31.13	31.94	**	--	**
11. White American, sometimes untrustworthy, understands others, barely competent.	26.32	24.52	26.17	--	--	--
12. Sometimes untrustworthy, lacks understanding of others, white American, highly competent.	25.57	23.69	26.21	--	--	--
13. Black American, lacks understanding of others, trustworthy, barely competent.	24.12	30.02	27.48	**	*	**
14. Lacks understanding of others, highly competent, black American, sometimes untrustworthy.	23.04	27.29	24.39	**	*	--
15. Black American, sometimes untrustworthy, barely competent, understands others.	21.76	29.00	23.44	**	**	--
16. White American, barely competent, sometimes untrustworthy, lacks understanding of others.	21.20	22.75	21.37	--	--	--
17. Sometimes untrustworthy, black American, barely competent, lacks understanding of others.	19.46	25.65	21.29	**	**	--

* t-test for difference between two groups significant beyond .05 level.

** t-test for difference between two groups significant beyond .01 level.

TABLE 2

Means and Comparisons of Component Scores

Components	Subjects			Comparisons		
	White Students	Black Students	Teachers	White Students vs Black Students	Black Students vs Teachers	Teachers vs White Students
Trustworthy	30.68	30.83	33.24	--	*	**
Understands others	30.25	30.98	32.27	--	--	*
Highly Competent	30.06	30.51	32.76	--	*	**
White American	29.31	26.80	29.99	**	**	--
Black American	25.74	30.78	28.89	**	*	**
Barely Competent	24.99	27.08	26.10	*	--	--
Lacks understanding of others	24.80	26.60	26.59	*	--	*
Sometimes untrustworthy	24.38	26.76	25.73	**	--	--

* t-test for difference between two groups significant beyond .05 level.

** t-test for difference between two groups significant beyond .01 level.

TABLE 3

Proportion of Social Distance Variance

Accounted for by Each Component

Source	White Students	Black Students	Teachers
Trustworthiness	35%	24%	39%
Understanding	26	28	22
Competence	22	17	30
Race	11	23	1
Subjects and Interactions	6	8	8
Total	100	100	100

BARRIERS AND ASPIRATIONS--GENERALIZATIONS FROM RESEARCH[1]

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In the brief time allotted to me this afternoon, I would like to give you some of the flavor of the Costerville study. That is, the background for the study, the major objectives of it, to present some of the findings, and to suggest some generalizations. My focus will be first on perceived barriers among a group of black and white high school seniors to the attainment of their post high school plans. Secondly, I will focus on the reported determinants of those plans, and, thirdly, I will report on some of the results of a follow-up through interviews with parents six months after high school graduation. By comparing blacks with whites perhaps we can document the extent of racism in terms of some of the impacts of vocational guidance in one school.

Racism Defined

Since our interest this afternoon is on the question, "Is vocational guidance racist?" it would seem wise to indicate what we mean by racism. I have taken the following definition from A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, edited by Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (1964): "Racism is the doctrine that there is a connection between racial and cultural traits, and that some races are inherently superior to others. Racism indiscriminately includes such non-biological groupings as religious sects, nations, linguistic groups, and cultural groups under its concept of race, and hence can be regarded as a particularly virulent form of ethnocentrism (q.v.)." (P. 571.)

The Costerville schools, including their guidance services, were indeed racist

[1]Prepared for presentation at the American Personnel and Guidance Association, Atlantic City, N.J., April 5, 1971. I am grateful to Julian Greifer, Lincoln University, for his leadership of the Costerville studies.

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until very recently--this we can document. At the present time, in a legal sense, they are not racist, but, in a psychological sense, if we can establish patterns of discrimination, we might infer that their roots do indeed lie in racism. By discrimination we mean the unfavorable treatment of black students on arbitrary grounds. By discrimination we mean that the school and the community "maintained social distance" between blacks and whites "by means of a set of practices more or less institutionalized and rationalized," and that "the practices employed involved the arbitrary attribution of inferiority on grounds which have little to do with the actual behavior of those discriminated against and are frequently in conflict with accepted ideas of justice and fairness." (Gould & Kolb, 1964, p. 203.)

Perhaps I may be permitted to add a distinction I cannot find in the dictionary. Imputed racism and imputed discrimination refer to the opinion that such doctrines, unfavorable treatments, social distances, and practices exist, whether or not in fact they do.

Costerville

The setting for this research is Costerville (not its real name), a northeastern industrial city with a population of slightly over 12,000, of whom approximately 25% are black. The community is largely lower middle class. It is dominated economically by a steel mill. In marked contrast to megalopolis, most of Costerville's black families came to the city in the period before World War II. The community includes a number of civil rights advocates who have been active and effective since the 1950's. The public schools are modern and well-equipped. They were desegregated in 1968.

Our research team from the University of Pennsylvania was invited by the Lincoln University Institute for Community Affairs in 1969 to join in an intense study of human relations in the schools. Although our focus was on the senior class and

emphasized the impact of vocational guidance, concurrent studies were underway by other task forces. For example, a Lincoln psychologist, has been surveying the self-concepts of black and white children; other research groups have been following up alumni; examining the extent of participation in co-curricular affairs by blacks and whites; analyzing hiring patterns in the schools; evaluating the effectiveness of desegregation; comparing racial groups on income and population distribution by area within the community, and surveying social services. Plans to implement findirgs are also in the development stage.

The Study

The present study had two major research questions. First, how do black pupils in a senior high school compare with white pupils in respect to their post high school plans and, second, what part does race play in the reported influences upon post high school plans. For the findings which I am reporting this afternoon, three different subsamples were taken: 365 members of the 1969 graduating class, 342 members of the 1970 graduating class and 143 parents of the 1969 graduating class.

For the senior groups an inventory previously developed in Hawaii and Oakland, California, called You and Your Future, was used. (Dole, 1961.) This instrument measures plans and occupational aspirations and yields a variety of scales. Today I will be laying special emphasis on eight reported determinant scales (Dole, 1969) which measure reasons for post high school choice plus a specially constructed Freedom scale and the Rotter IE locus of control.

For the parents, an interview schedule paralleling You and Your Future was developed. Under the supervision of Julian Greifer, undergraduates in sociology at Lincoln University interviewed a sample of 143 parents in the fall following their child's graduation from Costerville High. Of the large amount of data collected, I will report this afternoon only on the accuracy with which the parents perceived the

child's occupational aspirations, the relation between college attendance and high status aspirations on the part of both child and parent, and the proportions of seniors who as reported by their parents in fact fulfilled plans at graduation for school or college.

In most analyses which I will present blacks are compared with whites and the sexes are treated separately. The results of analyses of variance and factor analyses will be presented in full elsewhere.

Selected Findings

Selected findings from the three studies are summarized in Tables 1, 2, and 3 of the handout.

In Table 1 on the left are 11 freedom items, the first 10 of which are perceived barriers to post high school plan attainment. I should explain that, when the responses to these items were analyzed by sex and by race both in 1969 and again in 1970, we were unable to identify strong and significant differences. We therefore developed an Origin score, based on a factor analysis, which combines race with tenure in the community and in the state, father's education and occupation. The important thing to note here is that the single items which measured the direct perceived barrier of race, let us say, or of guidance services, as represented by the counselor, did not attain significance. But when all barrier items were combined, those 29 seniors in zero column were somewhat more likely to feel blocked in their aspirations before graduation. To me this finding gives some support to the validity of Freedom.

Turning to Table 2, we have summarized three different kinds of measures on the 1970 group. The first set of measures are determinant scales. They show the rated importance of values, interest and external influences for educational-vocational decisions. The figures here have been adjusted so that one can compare the strength

of any scale with any other as well as compare blacks with whites or males with females. The right-hand column summarizes the results in significance levels of repeated analyses of variance. The first thing to note here is that School Influences, which includes guidance services, was relatively less influential than the three so-called value items for all four groups. In part this is consistent with some of Pallone's (1970) research in New York. Secondly, the schools were reported to have somewhat greater influence by the blacks than by the whites. The black males and females said they considered the school more important than the whites in making their plans. In 1969 the findings although comparable were not identical. However, the relatively low importance of school influence was indeed true the preceding year also as was the equal number of differences by sex.

There was no difference by race in terms of locus of control as measured by Julian Rotter's Internal-External scale. Finally, of direct relevance to our research question on the Freedom Scale both the black males and the black females felt as unconstrained as their white peers with respect to their post high school plans. You will recall that for the 1969 group on Table 1 Freedom <u>was</u> related to a socio-economic measure. Supporting the finding here, in 1969 also Freedom was <u>not</u> significantly associated with race or sex at graduation.

Turning to Table 3, I have summarized a number of miscellaneous findings from the Centerville Parent Survey. Parent-child agreement when answers for the 1969 seniors on <u>You and Your Future</u> were compared with responses obtained through interviews with some of their parents were hardly impressive. When both parents and children were asked about the occupational aspirations of the seniors, the parents in more than two-fifths of all instances were not accurate. Interviewers' reports suggested some of them were tuned out--a generation gap, especially for black and white lower class parents. A second finding of interest was concerned with the relation

between later entrance into school or college and high status aspirations on the part of both children and their parents. High status was defined as a Northworth socio-economic status value of 70 or higher (Reiss, 1961). In 41 instances the child indicated that he aspired to a high SES occupation and the parent hoped he would enter one; of the 41, 36 children were in school or college in the fall after graduation.

Finally, we compared the plans indicated by the seniors a week before graduation with the responses of their parents in fall, 1969, on the basis of whether or not the child was attending school or college. Note that the black males in disproportionate numbers did not realize their aspirations for further education.

Conclusions

Based on these findings, I would like to offer four generalizations about Costerville.

1. Neither racism nor imputed racism were strongly evident as they pertained to guidance and the school. That is, there were relatively few differences between blacks and whites on the variables measured. Only a very small group of students and parents perceived discrimination.

2. Racism and discrimination cannot be discussed without taking into account sex and social class. In this particular study so far as determinants of post high school plans were concerned, there were as many differences by sex as by race. Race treated as a single variable was not associated with Freedom from perceived barriers to the attainment of aspirations, but race was associated with Freedom when it was combined with family tenure in the community, parental education and occupation. College attendance was related to high parent and child aspirations.

3. The school, including guidance services, was perceived as less influential than were personal values, although the blacks more than the whites did look to the

school as a source of assistance and direction in planning.

4. In the fall after graduation, the black males and females more than their white peers had not been able to follow through on their plans and to establish themselves. Discrimination by the community seems evident in failing to provide placement and scholarship aid for minority group members. The school may have failed too by not preparing such students to cope.

Finally, during this study I have met various counselors, administrators and school board members at Costerville. In fairness, none was openly racist and many have been genuinely concerned with correcting discriminatory practices.

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TABLE 1

RESPONSES TO FREEDOM ITEMS BY ORIGIN SCORE, 1969 SENIORS

Freedom Items	Origin Score[1]					X^2
	0	1	2	3	4,5	
	(39)[a]	(57)	(146)	(90)	(33)	
"I am unable to do what I really want next year because..."						
I lack the ability	28%	23%	19%	18%	4%	2.82
I lack the money	49	32	36	37	15	6.00
My grades were too low	31	21	14	22	12	2.98
I will probably be drafted	33	21	14	22	12	6.38
My family objects	23	18	16	19	12	1.46
My counselor advised against it	23	25	11	16	9	5.19
My race prevents it	21	19	12	12	9	3.31
My teacher advised against it	15	21	10	13	9	3.59
My friends advised against it	15	21	8	16	9	3.71
I lack the personality	26	25	14	16	12	4.36
All items (Σ yes + n.sure/10n)	26	22	18	20	18	26.76**
Post high school plan "what I want to do"	59	68	71	68	73	0.77

Note: % represents proportion responding yes or not sure of those with this origin score.

1 One point assigned for each of the following characteristics: white, born in Costerville, head of household born in Pennsylvania, grandfather born in Pennsylvania, and father high school graduate in a white collar occupation.

a Number in parenthesis represents total of those with this Origin Score.

** $p < .01$ (df=4)

TABLE 2

MEAN SCORES ON DETERMINANT SCALES, LOCUS OF CONTROL,

AND FREEDOM OF 1970 BLACK AND WHITE SENIORS

Scale	Blacks		Whites		ANOVA		
	Males (N=34)	Females (N=32)	Males (N=119)	Females (N=157)	Sex	Race	SXR
			Determinants				
Material Value	1.32	1.29	1.18	1.10	*	--	--
Academic Value	1.19	1.22	1.26	1.23	--	--	--
Altruistic Value	1.10	1.00	1.38	0.93	**	*	--
Conformity	1.07	1.04	1.13	1.05	--	--	--
Experience	0.90	0.95	0.95	0.87	--	--	--
School Influence	0.97	0.73	0.81	0.57	*	**	--
Science Interest	0.96	0.86	0.93	0.75	--	**	--
Humanities Interest	0.71	0.52	0.46	0.54	--	--	--

Note: Mean scale values represent degree of importance, adjusted for unequal number of items and adapted to 1969 scale.

0 = of no importance, 1 = of some importance, 2 = of great importance

			Locus of Control				
Internal-External (Rotter)	10.68	10.03	10.00	10.12	--	--	--
			Freedom				
Freedom[1]	7.79	8.60	8.63	8.69	--	--	--

1 One point assigned if student answered "yes" to post-high school plan "is what I want to do." One point assigned for each of table 1 items answered "no." A high Freedom score (maximum) represents an absence of perceived barriers.

*p < .05
**p < .01

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TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS FINDINGS

Costerville Parent Survey

1969 Seniors

How well do parents perceive child's occupational aspriations?

Parent perceptions, hopes, preferences, and expectations for child were matched with child's hopes, preferences, and expectations. Hits were defined liberally as any reasonable agreement.

41 parents of white males scored 24 hits	57.1%
29 parents of black males scored 14 hits	48.3
42 parents of white females scored 30 hits	71.4
31 parents of black females scored 17 hits	54.8
143 parents of all sample members scored 85 hits	59.4

Conclusion: Although not statistically significant, white parents were slightly more accurate. The parents in more than two-fifths of all instances were not accurate about their children.

Is college attendance related to high status aspirations on the part of both children and their parents?

Parent and child occupational aspirations were assigned Hatt-North SES values. Thirty-six of 41 instances combined high (over 70) SES occupations with college attendance. No differences by sex or race.

Conclusion: College attendance is in part associated with high prestige occupational aspirations on the part both of the child and his parents.

What happened to those seniors who planned at graduation from Costerville to attend college or school within six months?

The responses of the seniors to the 1969 survey in Costerville High School were matched against the responses of their parents in fall 1969 in respect to child's current major activity (attending school or college).

Of 41 white males, 22 or 54% had planned on college or school, and 20 with this plan, or 48% of the sample, were attending a school or college.

Of 29 black males, 18 or 62% planned on college or school, and 8 with this plan, or 28% of the sample, were attending a school or college.

Of 42 white females, 21 or 50% had planned on college or school and 17, or 42% of the sample, were attending a school or college. (Two were reported to be doing nothing, just helping at home.)

Of 31 black females, 13 or 39% had planned on college or school and 10 or 32% of the sample were attending a school or college. (Seven were reported to be doing nothing, just helping at home.)

Conclusion: The black males in disproportionate numbers did not realize their educational aspirations. (A substantial group of black females neither went on to school, worked or married.)

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BLACK AND WHITE ATTITUDES ABOUT GUIDANCE: OBSERVATIONS FROM THE FIELD[1]

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During the past two years guidance has found itself more and more having to justify its services to black communities across the country. Are guidance services for black students adequate? To answer this question I observed student life and attitudes about guidance last spring as a part of a two-year survey of occupational plans of senior students conducted by the Institute for Community Affairs at Lincoln University, the University of Pennsylvania, and the cooperating school district referred to in this research as "Costerville."

Method

Setting

Costerville is a small Northeastern industrial city with a population of approximately 12,000 citizens. In the past few years there has been increased emphasis on the part of black citizens to have an account of the involvement of black students in the school programs and the extent of guidance services given.

Subjects

Black and white senior students of the 1969 and 1970 graduating classes participated in the survey. Approximately 250 students from the 1970 class of approximately 500 participated in semi-focused interviews conducted in groups and individually from January through April, 1970. Most of the interviews were recorded.

[1]Prepared for presentation to the American Personnel and Guidance Association in Atlantic City, New Jersey, April, 1971. Financial support was provided by the U. S. Office of Education while the author was an EPDA fellow at the University of Pennsylvania.

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Approximately 25 percent of the student population in the school were blacks and a like percentage of the subjects of this research were black. Black students were represented in all aspects of the school activities.

Counselors working within the school as well as community members and former graduates were interviewed also. Parents of the black seniors of the class of 1969 as well as a representative sample of parents of the white seniors of the 1969 class were interviewed. A sample of the black seniors of the 1969 senior class was interviewed in August of 1970.

Procedure

Prior to the student interviews, administrators, central office staff, and counselors were interviewed in order to get their perceptions of the students, the community, and the school. All of the counselors at the senior high school (one male, who was also the head football coach, and two females) were interviewed in order to get their perceptions of attitudes towards guidance.

Groups of seniors, of the 1970 class, which averaged 11 in number, participated in semi-focused interviews as to their occupational goals and perceived barriers to attaining those goals. Individual interviews were also held and were, for the most part, conducted on the same basis.

Subjects in the 1970 class were selected from a psychology class, a minor subject which enrolled a majority of the senior students. The students were brought to the television studio of the school by their teacher where small group discussions took place and recordings were made. The teacher did not participate in any of the sessions. Most groups were integrated by race, sex,and programs of study. Some groups were, however, rather homogeneous by race, sex, and programs of study. Subjects from the 1969 senior class were interviewed individually.

My field observations were not intended to be hard nosed research, although I

started with specific objectives and a semi-focused interview format (Merton, et al., 1956). I realize that my sample may not have been representative, and I have not sampled objectively and rigorously the observations and interview excerpts which follow. Passons and Dole have been hard nosed. My task is to present personal, admittedly biased impressions from the source and to take a subjective look (eyeball-to-eyeball) at the people who filled out the inventories and adults who are members of the community.

Observations

Counselors

An interview with the male counselor indicated that he perceived student and parent attitudes to be rather positive towards guidance services. An interview with the female counselors indicated that they perceived negative attitudes on the part of teachers, administration, and parents. (See handout, Counselor.)

Former Students

In order to get an idea of the attitudes of guidance services over the years and compare them with today's attitudes, several graduates from previous years were interviewed. A black graduate of the class of 1945 and a third generation resident of Centerville responded as follows: (See handout, Former Student).

Another black graduate who is now a parent of a high school student and who functions as a community leader reported on one of the several activities in which she is involved: (See handout, A Parent and Community Worker).

Many of the comments reported by black seniors of the 1969 class who attended college whether in special programs or not were generally positive. In one case, allegedly, information given pertaining to financial aid was not accurate, i.e., the student's parents were required to pay the year's tuition after the summer program

and felt that counselors should have been more accurate in presenting information about the program.

Comments of a black student of the 1969 senior class who had not been enrolled in a college program of studies: (See handout, A 1969 Black Low Status Senior).

Attitudes of the 1970 seniors varied among students. Observations and student reports appeared to be related to student status in many cases without regard to race. Student status appeared to fall into several categories, e.g., extracurricular activities, socioeconomic status, and community status of the parents. Athletes generally indicated positive attitudes and occasionally concerns about choices of schools were indicated as reported by one black male: (See handout, A 1970 Black Athlete).

Among a group of white seniors (male and female) who, for the most part, were college oriented and who were sons and daughters of professional and business leaders in the community, a positive attitude toward guidance existed. Some appeared quite concerned about guidance for black students, as expressed in a discussion as follows: (See handout, 1970 White High Status Seniors).

A white student who would not fall into a student status group reported: (See handout, 1970 White Low Status Senior).

A group of black students who could be considered as nonactivities-oriented expressed feelings as follows: (See handout, Three Black Low Status 1970 Seniors).

A black female, college oriented and the daughter of a professional parent, expressed her feelings about guidance services: (See handout, A 1970 Black High Status Female Senior).

Implications

Costerville, which was faced with demands of the community to justify its guid-

ance services, might be typical of what is occuring or might occur in many communities across the country. What might appear to be primarily a charge from the black community may also be a charge from segments of the white community. Counselors may also be perceiving inaccurately their roles within a large segment of the population.

Interview data strongly suggest that in Costerville attitudes are regarded as positive among students who are actively involved in activities of some status, e.g., athletics, school publications, etc. With regard to those black males who were generally involved in several sports, race did not appear to be a problem and generally they held positive attitudes toward guidance services. Black males who were not involved in sports and a great number of black females felt guidance did not meet their needs. White students, male and female, who were generally nonactivities oriented, felt guidance generally was not serving their needs.

Finally, the concept of "guidance as a service to all" might be questioned by many students and their parents without regard to race. Race might not appear important in the eyes of the target population. Counselors must attempt to understand that:

> What about the basic question "Is vocational guidance racist?" From the vantage point of most white students, it is not, but for some who are capable of understanding social problems of the school, community, and nation, it is.

Perhaps little has changed from the days when counselors perpetuated the culture by discouraging upward mobility. Reismann (1962, p. 21) has reported how advice given by guidance counselors unintentionally supported discrimination.

> The psychologists and guidance counselors were not prejudiced. They honestly deplored the job discrimination that prevailed but by so accurately appraising the Negro aspirants of the existing situation, they were inadvertently fostering the status quo. In a sense they were saying "What's the use of getting all excited about training yourself as a chemist when you won't be able to get a job when you have a degree?"

To the black student who feels that his needs and goals are not being considered, vocational guidance is perceived as racist. To him, though the words have changed, i.e., racism has replaced discrimination, the practice lingers on. Despite their feelings, many of the black youth have hope and determination as presented in a serious tone by a 1969 senior:

> As far as I'm concerned, I'm young and I've still got time. I mean, if I don't like . . . waste away in the next couple of years. If I learn more every year, I might make it.

Perhaps we should attempt to understand a great deal more about the thousands, if not millions, of other black pupils, for they might not find the confidence as this student did. They might be robbed of the opportunity to become productive human beings.

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The Costerville Study

Excerpts From Interviews With

Counselors, Students and Citizens[1]

by

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The following excerpts are from some of the interviews conducted with former students, parents, counselors and students of the 1969 and 1970 graduating classes of Costerville High School.

Counselor:

> I think more of our complaints come from probably two areas. Uh... one, the affluent area where Johnny is use to getting anything and everything he wants and you know if he runs up against realism, then the parents get upset and...uh...probably the other would be the black community where they are complaining and in some ways have a right to complain, but, uh...here again I think that realism and the fact that we are trying should have some acceptance.

Former Student (class of 1945):

> The only black students who were known to guidance officers were those who excelled, who were honor students and those who, of course, caused disciplinary problems. But as far as the average student, I dare to say that counselors made no effort to contact these students or give them guidance which was so necessary for our black students.

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1. Prepared for presentation to the American Personnel and Guidance Association in Atlantic City, New Jersey, April, 1971. Financial support was provided by the U.S. Office of Education while the author was an EPDA fellow at the University of Pennsylvania.

A Parent and Community Worker:

> We (the NAACP) take up the slack where the school system hasn't worked. We, in turn, try to reach most of our black students in the ninth and tenth grade with the hopes of helping them when they reach this level, that they will be able to have courses, not a commercial course, in order to enter college, but the proper preparatory course if they're qualified in order to move into this. But again I say that Negro students are locked into the track system and our late bloomers are really suffering for it.

A 1969 Black Low Status Status Senior:

> I was always told that if you would harden up that you could accomplish your goals. Well, as far as this went, my teachers, I got to a certain like say the ninth grade and I wanted to be a doctor cause my mom was a nurse and I'd been up to the hospital and I liked to work around those people and they (the teachers) just told me that they didn't actually think I could be a doctor cause I didn't have the grades but then, in ninth grade I was on the honor roll three times but yet, I didn't have enough intelligence maybe as you say or maybe I didn't have enough background or this, that and the other to become a doctor and so that let me down and like ever since I went downhill and then I found something else that I liked and started coming up again.

1970 White High Status Seniors:

> We should have more (counselors) I think. There are only three down there with so many kids. And when you go down there to see a counselor you have to wait a couple of periods before you get in.
>
> I feel that they should have more but I feel the guidance counselors are doing their job, but I do agree that there should be more.
>
> Well, I don't know how they feel, but the black students can't go in to talk, I don't think they could. If I was black I couldn't.... problems with black students.

1970 White Low Status Senior:

> I don't think that guidance is in greater demand. I think they need more information. A lot of the kids I know just aren't interested in going to college to major in teaching or psychology. They like small things like beautician work or modeling and fashion design and none of this is known there.

Three Black, Low Status 1970 Seniors:

They look out for white kids in my opinion. Because like now, I'm trying to get into an art school in Philly. I gave him (the counselor) my application and everything and he said he's going to send the transript of my grades and everything, my records and I haven't heard anything from him... He takes care of them white kids.

#

My guidance counselor, I asked him to find me a school to go to. I told him what I wanted to take up and he said he never heard of any type of schools around here. Well, I figure it's the counselor's job to find a school for the student. Instead of him finding a school he said if I find anything about a school to let him know. If I find anything out about it I'm ain't going to let him know nothing, cause it's his job!

#

My guidance counselor so far she seems satisfied. She seems to help me get into school and everything. It was, I think, about seven schools that she tried to get me into, you know, but she told me it was up to me to decide which school I would want to go to. And so, I decided on -------. You know, so far I think she has really helped me. I needed some credits and you know she made my schedule so that you know I would take them.

A 1970 Black High Status Female Senior:

I get like kinda special attention all the time around the school because everybody's always afraid my father is going to come down here or something like that. And when they were talking about this test they were saying it's going to help black kids and help them have confidence like you. It's gonna...it's gonna maybe help build the grades up when they're younger so they can have good grades like you. And he'd be just like you. Why did they have to use me for an example? They do that around here all the time. Every time they want to get something across to the black students around here they always call on me. I don't like that.

I don't like the advisors around here anyway because they take most black students--they don't know anything about black colleges, none of them do and most kids around here want to go to black schools. And they'll just take them and throw them anywhere, like this school, just anywhere, anything to get them out of here out of their office. They'll just tell 'em anything, and I don't like that.

Like last year they had this list of ten black students. These were the ones. They had this list of the ten black students that when college came they were going to help you and you could use their name. And the Afro American Club had a look into it and they got rid of the list that they actually had. A list out that they used and helped those ten and forgot about everybody else. They used to just send them like don't go to -------, they'll send you to someplace like --------. You know, like somebody that has A's and B's and stuff don't need to go to -------, and/or they would send you to one of these white schools that have a quota system to fill for the state and at most of those schools they take you and make it so hard for you that you drop, drop out and that's what they do.

A 1970 Black Athlete

I wouldn't say that my guidance counselor gave me any help. I told him I wanted to go to a big college and I'd go to a small college if I couldn't get accepted at a big college. And he keeps writing to the big colleges asking for me instead of writing to some of the small colleges. And if I don't get accepted at a big college I'm going to be stuck because no small colleges are looking at me right now. All the big ones. And my grades aren't what they should be.